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THE PATRIOT

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THE PERIL IN INDIA—See page 6.

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CONTENTS.

	Page		Page
A House Divided Against Itself	1	Horny-Handed Sons of Toil	10
Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in Palestine	2	American Policy and British Interests	11
Notes	3	Trade Union Notes	12
Letters of A Patriot—II.	5	The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy	13
The Peril in India—II.	6	Where Labour Rules	14
Our Privy Councillors	7	Correspondence	14
The Outlook in Ireland	8	A Glossary of Political and Labour Terms—No. 9.	15

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A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF.

We have defined patriotism as the national instinct of survival—a sub-conscious thought, an inherited memory, formed, not in one generation, but in many. It is despised by our political idealists, and in particular by the Socialists, who call it a "superstition of the bourgeoisie"; yet it is common, not to the bourgeoisie merely, but to all classes of the nation, from prince to working man. It is the common possession of the whole race and nation, the something which binds them all together; it is wiser than the politician or the philosopher, for it is the voice of a thousand years of experience. It lies dormant in the breast or in the mind of man until it is roused by a danger which threatens, not himself merely but his race and country, and then, as with one instantaneous impulse, the manhood of the nation rises in ranks, like waves of the sea under a strong wind, to fight and die, sacrificing one generation at the command of the past for the preservation of the future.

It is curious and pathetic that this strong instinct which has prompted so many to die should have taught so few to live for the national cause. This country, at this time, lacks a common philosophy of life, founded upon the instinct of survival, and is in danger of accepting ideals which lead to self-destruction. The most dangerous of all these ideals is that the division of mankind is not into nations, but into classes, that patriotism is a mistake and a superstition, and that it should be replaced in the heart of man by a new spirit called "class-consciousness." Here we have a fallacy deliberately preached which has already driven one great empire to destruction, and may yet drive our own.

As a fact, a nation is a natural growth, a community of men with an instinctive habit of working together for the purpose of survival. They hive and cluster upon certain means of subsistence; first of all, the land, the base and foundation, and then the industrial and economic system developed from the land and its products. In the handling of these means of life various aptitudes are demanded. Nature does not fashion experts in one generation, she breeds and selects in classes—subdivisions of the nation for her special purposes. To reduce all men to an equality would be to start all over again with every generation: an enormous waste of human effort, a chaos of misapplied aptitudes. A man would be considered a fool who went to a trainer's stable to buy dray-horses or to a breeder of Clydesdales for a Derby winner. But in politics to claim for the labouring class the ability to take on the work of all the others is called not folly but progress.

This idea of a war between classes is the complement of another fallacy, the attempt to divide our industrial system into two hostile parts, the one bitterly and implacably opposed to the other. Our artisans are taught to look at the means by which they live as their natural enemy, and the capital which sustains them as an exploitation. We see many good people led astray by this fallacy, even clergymen preach it to their flocks as if it were part of a revealed religion. We do not in the least object to bishops preaching economics, but we suggest that they might at least study before they expound them. Capital, so far from being the enemy of man, or a recent and corrupt growth of evil, is one of the most ancient and one of the most beneficent of human inventions. It is shared by some, at least, of the lower animals—the squirrel, the field-mouse, and the bee. It is a device for tiding mankind over from seed-time to harvest, from harvest to seed-time. Without its capital the nation could not survive a year; it is what the honey is to the hive. If the bees

were so foolish as to eat it in summer they would die in winter. Yet mankind, which reckons itself more wise than the bee or the field-mouse, is now in danger of accepting the fallacy that capital is an enemy and ought to be destroyed, or that it should be divided among the workers. They propose to do without the brains, the credit and good will of their employers, the leaders and the organisers of their industry, whom their agitators describe variously as "fat men" and "hard-faced men," and who are lampooned as ogres and blood-suckers. Our industries could no more survive without the employer than without the workman; robbed of the direction, the capital, the credit and the inherited aptitudes of the employing class, they could not exist for a month.

These two fallacies were invented by Karl Marx —a secret agent of an alien power for the purpose of destroying the British industrial system, which stood in the way of German world-power. For German statesmen saw, and none more clearly than Bismarck, that, as the strength of Samson lay in his hair, so the strength of the British Empire lay in its land and its industries, which furnish the nation with its leadership, its manhood, its means in peace, and its ships and munitions of war. The secret agents of the enemy, therefore, working through our politics and by propaganda, set themselves to undermine both our landed and our industrial systems. As Delilah with Samson, so the alien and the enemy agent with the British people:

> And she made him sleep upon her knees: and she called for a man, and she caused him to shave off the seven locks of his head: and she began to afflict him, and his strength went from him.

It is of very great importance to remember as a master clue to the meaning of the propaganda against capital, that British industry in the main rests upon British capital—the savings of the British people. It is important to remember also that our great joint-stock banks are largely native institutions, although they have been sometimes used to support alien and enemy interests. German industry, on the other hand, and German banks, are very largely German Jewish institutions. When we grasp these main facts firmly in our mind, much becomes clear which was before mysterious. Those who carry on war against "Capital" are in fact destroying one capitalist system to give greater scope to a rival. Karl Marx, who preached Red Revolution in England, and had attacked society in Germany in his early days, became a "Meliorist" towards the new German industrial system. Whereas he advised British working-men to destroy the industries by which they lived, he advised German working-men to educate their families, make themselves comfortable, and keep out of politics. The British Socialist is, in fact, the dupe of the German capitalist.

We see a later development of this conspiracy in the "slogan" of Internationalism, which is part of the design to discredit patriotism and substitute class for national divisions. Our politicians are the dupe of this catchword; while our home markets, the inner keep of our industrial fortress, are again being invaded by the enemy, and our industries are in chaos owing to enemy propaganda, we are being told to look for safety to international agreements and international conferences. It is not at Genoa, nor with the Bolsheviks and Germans, that this country can find salvation. We must return to the old policy which was inspired by the natural instinct and true guide of patriotism, and founded itself upon the two great interests of our land and our industries. For if these are healthy, the nation is healthy. If these are neglected and fall into decay, neither education nor international trade, nor any other panacea of the politician will save us from the fate of the shorn and blinded giant. We must found ourselves upon the instinct of patriotism and upon the power of production if we are to save that which is ready to perish.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD IN PALESTINE.

(From a Correspondent.)

The *Palestine Weekly* publishes the parting advice and benediction of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to the much-enduring Palestinians. What he says is significant, as, for example:—

"I have seen quite enough to rouse my interest and to enable me to return to London in a position to report to my friends of the Independent Labour Party what Palestinian Labour and Socialism are aiming at."

[Socialism being abhorrent to Moslems, who form the vast majority of the people, the sources from which Mr. Macdonald heard of Socialist aims are evident.]

"When the General Election comes . . . Labour and Socialist candidates, working together, are to be returned in such numbers that, if they are not in an absolute majority in the House of Commons no Government can rule independently of them."

[This "working together" is significant, because it implies that intellectuals like Mr. Macdonald, who have never worked with their hands or had experience in directing any labour, are to pretend that they represent the manual working classes.]

"A British Labour Government would pursue a world policy that would be conducted in the full light of day, because it would be based on common interest, and not on class profit, and on democratic consent, and not secret agreements."

[The "world policy" of the Labour Party and the Socialist intelligentsia, so far disclosed, is to secure the admission of the Russo-Judaic murderers of the working classes to the Councils of Europe on equal terms.]

"In our conditions we cannot begin land settlements, but if Great Britain were like Palestine we should adopt some such course."

["Some such course" is good; but all the land in Palestine is subject to ancient rights, and if the Labour Government began to upset them by "settlements" it would arouse all the fierce antagonism of an Asiatic people.]

"If you can only succeed in guarding your land against exploiting capitalism, you will not only be building up prosperity for yourselves but enlightening the whole world."

[Considering that Palestine is now being vigorously exploited by Jewish capital, collected in Europe and America and applied to oust the owners of the soil for the benefit of imported Jews with Bolshevik tendencies, this gratuitous advice must be ironical.]

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

What is the Trouble ?

Many good and simple people who have been expecting fair weather from the alleged Irish peace are shocked and puzzled by the obvious truth that Ireland, instead of getting better, is getting worse and worse. We need hardly give examples. They are familiar to our readers. The seizure of the Admiralty vessel with its load of explosives and arms from Haulbowline Dockyard, the terrible bloodshed in Belfast, the seizure of buildings in Dublin—the flat defiance of the Provisional Government in its very capital—all suggest the plain truth—that there is chaos and anarchy from one end of Ireland to the other, and the natural question arises, If Ireland has been given what she really desired, what is the trouble?

The Wrong Diagnosis.

Now, the plain fact is that the doctors have made a wrong diagnosis. They mistook, in the first place, enemy propaganda for Irish Nationalism. They mistook hatred of England for love of Ireland. They mistook a plan for our destruction for a desire for the salvation of Ireland. And they never perceived that behind all the Gaelic enthusiasm of "Ourselves Alone" there was working a "power not ourselves," which made for Berlin and for Moscow.

What is the I.R.A. ?

The British people are allowed to know a little of the I.R.A., but they are not allowed to know anything of the I.R.B. Yet the one controls the other. The Irish Republican Brotherhood is at the heart and centre of the criminal campaign. It is allied with the citzen army founded by Connolly, which brought off the Dublin Rebellion of 1916, and is also allied with the Third International at Moscow. It is an organisation with as black and sinister a record as any in the history even of Irish secret societies.

Origin of the I.R.B.

The Irish Republican Brotherhood was founded in 1793 by agents of the French Revolution in co-operation with Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Arthur O'Connor, with the object of causing a French *coup d'état* in Ireland as preliminary to the invasion of England. Under the name of United Irishmen, this organisation was responsible for two French invasions of the coast of Ireland during the Napoleonic Wars. Suppressed after the Emmet rebellion in 1805, the framework of the society was secretly kept together by a few adepts until reorganisation took place after the abortive Fenian insurrection of 1867. From 1870 to 1879 its operations were mainly confined to recruiting members in America, but Devoy, who at that period became its head, in a report on the Irish membership made about 1872, states that there were then 50,000 sworn members in Munster. Indeed, Munster has always been the stronghold in Ireland of the Brotherhood, and that accounts for the active opposition now centred there against the Provisional Government, which functions only in Dublin.

Sole Government of the Irish Republic.

The I.R.B. claims to be the "sole Government of the Irish Republic." It has a Supreme Council, of which eleven members are elected and four others, whose names are never divulged, chosen by the eleven. The Council arrogates powers of life and death, of taxation, of war and peace, and of treaty-making.

Every recruit is sworn to secrecy on penalty of death, and its methods may be gauged by the crime statistics of Ireland.

Constitution of the I.R.B.

Although the secret of the organisation was zealously guarded, yet a copy of the written constitution of the Society was secured by the British military authorities, and was published in the *Morning Post* on 30 May, 1920.

The constitution thus states the "objects" of the Society :—

The object of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (hereinafter sometimes called the "Organisation") is to establish and maintain a free and independent Republican Government in Ireland.

The Irish Republican Brotherhood shall do its utmost to train and equip its members as a military body for the purpose of securing the independence of Ireland by force of arms ; it shall secure the co-operation of all Irish military bodies in the accomplishment of its objects, and shall support every movement calculated to advance the cause of Irish National Independence, consistent with the preservation of its own integrity.

It will be noted that the interests of the Society are put above the cause for which it is alleged to exist.

Government of the I.R.B.

Any member who supports the Provisional Government which has been set up under the Free State Act *ipso facto* becomes a traitor to the Society, and may be dealt with accordingly. Clause 20 declares :—

The Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood is hereby declared in fact, as well as by right, the sole Government of the Irish Republic. Its enactments shall be the laws of the Irish Republic until Ireland secures absolute national independence, and a permanent Republican Government be established.

The authority of the Supreme Council shall be unquestioned by members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

The Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall have power to levy taxes, raise loans, make war and peace, negotiate and ratify treaties with Foreign Powers, and do all other acts necessary for the protection and government of the Irish Republic.

A declaration of war shall be supported by at least ten members of the Supreme Council, and a decision so arrived at shall be binding on all Members of the Council.

Military Council.

There shall be a "Military Council" of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which shall be attached to, and at all times be subject to, the Supreme Council, and shall have no power to direct, or interfere with, the policy of the Government of the Irish Republic nor in any way to alter the Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

There are thus two executive bodies, viz., the Supreme Council, an autocratic oligarchy, and the Military Council.

The Black Fifteen.

By Article 20 it is affirmed that "the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood is hereby declared, in fact, as well as by right, the sole Government of the Irish Republic." It is further explained that the government of the Supreme Council is provisional, and exercises full powers until the national independence of Ireland is secured, and "a permanent Republican Government be established." The Supreme Council is Republican in so far as it is elected, eleven of its members each representing one electoral division. But the eleven choose four additional members, whose names are known to the Supreme Council alone, and so far the Council departs from the democratic principle.

Powers of Life and Death.

These fifteen men, then, exercise an absolute autocracy. The Fifteen hold powers of life and death, and powers to "levy taxes, raise loans, make war and peace, negotiate and ratify treaties with foreign Powers." The conduct of military operations is assigned to the Military Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which wields an army of forty-six brigades, or about 110,000 men. The murder department, however, is conducted by the Supreme Council, the Military Council dealing with attacks upon police barracks and the campaign generally.

The Oath.

The Irish Republican Brotherhood is a vast secret organisation controlling all Ireland, excepting the loyalists of Ulster, and extending into England and Scotland, which countries are represented upon the Supreme Council by three members, two for England and one for Scotland. Every recruit is sworn to secrecy by the most solemn oath, under penalty of death; for the Supreme Council have the power "to inflict a sentence of capital punishment and give it effect" in cases of treason. And treason is generously defined as "any wilful act or word . . . calculated to betray the cause of Irish independence, or subserve the interests of the British or any other foreign Government to the detriment of Irish independence." Or, briefly, any act or word which in the opinion of the Supreme Council suggests that the offender were better out of the way.

The Provisional Government.

Now Collins and Mulcahy are almost certainly members of this secret society, and if they are now trying to act in defiance of its policy we do not set a high value upon their lives. But it is at least equally probable that they are the creatures and puppets of the organisation, which uses them to throw dust in the eyes of the British, and, indeed, also of the Irish people. For the Brotherhood itself has no thought of peace, or of allowing Ireland to remain within the British Empire. It is allied with our most implacable enemies both in Berlin and Moscow, and it is working for anarchy and the destruction of England. In the great and dark game which it plays Ireland is merely a pawn, for probably the I.R.B. is now the branch and subordinate of an even more terrible sect that stands behind it.

The Gentle Art.

Ever since the present troubles in Ireland began strenuous efforts have been made to throw the blame on the Loyalists, and to keep the truth from the British public. We had the case of Mr. Cope, one of the Assistant Secretaries at the Castle, who told the Chief Constable of Belfast that for every Sinn Feiner he arrested he must also arrest a Loyalist! A more recent example appears in the *Star*, where Frank Donnelly, the prominent Orangeman and Protestant recently murdered in Belfast, is described as a Catholic! As a fact, this classification of Protestant and Catholic is apt to be fallacious. The Bolshevists who direct these massacres have no respect for either religion, and are known to have murdered many Roman Catholics when it was, for one reason or another, convenient to get them out of the way. It is reported that the true reason of the massacre of the Donnelly was their refusal to take the Republican oath.

The Bolsheviks.

We have said boldly that the I.R.B. is allied to the Citizen Army of the Bolshevik Transport Union, because it is evident that they are working together. It may, indeed, be that the Bolsheviks now control the I.R.B. Certain it is that the Bolsheviks are now over-running and terrorising Connaught and Munster, so that these unhappy provinces are already in the grip of a Terror similar to the Terror of Russia in its first stages. In every part of the country bands of Communists are terrorising the inhabitants. "The agricultural workers in Kilfeach, Kilshane, and Clarkstown," says the *Workers' Republic* of 1 April, "have seized several tracts of land and divided them off for tillage purposes." They have also seized mills and houses, and are forcing the farmers to submit to ruinous demands by threats of violence. The red dawn is breaking over Ireland.

The Genoa Conference.

In another page we give a further extract from Mr. Edgar Sisson's report, which proves the sort of people the Bolsheviks were, and are. Their Communism is, indeed, a mere cloak to cover a vast conspiracy to destroy every industrial system but the German. The German industrial system, it may here be explained, is very largely financed and managed by Jewish brains and Jewish capital, a point of very great importance, as it helps to explain why the German and Russian Jews are so active in the Bolshevik movement. The design in destroying all industrial systems, save the German, is no doubt prompted by the fact that the great destruction of wealth in the war leaves the world with insufficient means to support the several great industrial systems which used to supply its wants. It is, in fact, a struggle for survival, and the German-Jewish part in the struggle is carried on with a ruthlessness, cruelty, and cunning which would be incredible had we not the experience of the late war to make all things credible.

The Debate on Monday.

With this knowledge in mind, let us turn to the debate in the House of Commons on Monday. The first extraordinary feature of this debate must have already been noted by our readers. Although the country as a whole, and the majority of the House of Commons, view these approaches to the Bolsheviks with disfavour and distrust, the only amendment allowed by the Speaker was one from the Labour Party, condemning the Prime Minister for not going far enough. It is notable, also, that although the "moderate" leaders of the Labour Party profess (sometimes) their horror of Bolshevism, they are always on the Bolshevik side when they are put to the test. The opponents to Genoa could neither vote for nor against the Prime Minister, and were thus disabled from expressing the true feeling of the country.

The Prime Minister's Case.

As to the Prime Minister's case it will hardly strike the attentive reader as sincere, or even plausible. The Prime Minister suggests that the Bolsheviks are sincere if wrong-headed enthusiasts, who now begin to learn from experience that their doctrines are absurd, and are therefore willing to learn by experience. Now, upon the contrary, the Bolsheviks have succeeded in what they really set out to do, which was to destroy the Russian Government, the Russian upper classes and Russian industry, so that Russia should become the helpless victim of a gigantic exploitation. The exploitation is now to begin. That it will be a German-Jewish exploitation is certain from the preceding circumstances. The Bolsheviks, therefore, are not repentant; they are triumphant. They

have completed one great part of the work they set out to do, and are about to reap their reward.

The Bait for Capitalists.

As for the Prime Minister's bait of a vast trade waiting to be reopened, that argument was formerly used to support the Trade Agreement; if the Trade Agreement has failed, as the speech suggests, it is not apparent how recognition will succeed. There may quite possibly be a revival of Russian trade in the future, for, as the Bolsheviks have reduced Russia to its prairie value, and possess it, they have now an interest in raising it. It was like a gigantic wrecking operation in the American industrial world. The wreckers first "beared" the market until they reduced the object of their attack to ruin and bankruptcy, and so entered into possession at a minimum of cost to themselves. They may now propose to "bull" the market: but if they do we may be certain it will not be in order to help the British industrial system.

The Next Victim.

On the contrary, the British industrial system is already marked down as the next victim, and very considerable progress has been made in the preliminaries of destruction. Let us name a few :—

1. Ireland, a market hitherto of British trade—in which we stood without rivals—is given the power and the means (as it has certainly the intention) to boycott British goods, and turn to Germany for manufactures.

2. India, another very valuable British market, has been incited to destroy British goods as an article of religion.

3. The British workmen, both in and out of work, are being continually incited to destroy the employers and the capital by which they all live. This campaign is ceaseless, cunning, implacable. It uses every discontent, every industrial quarrel, and it is supported by an enormous bulk of propaganda.

The Result.

And now let us state very briefly and very moderately what the main results of recognition are going to be :—

1. A growing breach with France, which has the wisdom to see the true meaning of the Bolshevik movement and the courage to resist it.

2. A great access of power and prestige to the Bolsheviks, who will use both to carry on their campaign in this country with the greater vigour.

3. The discouragement of all our loyal patriotic and moderate working-men, who have fought the Bolsheviks in their workshops, believing that their Government would stand by them.

4. A great encouragement to the worst and most dangerous part of the Labour movement, to which the Prime Minister makes his appeal.

5. The further disintegration and discrediting of the Conservative Party, who cannot deny that their chosen leaders have taken part in this new and gross betrayal of every principle of patriotism, of morality, of law and order, which Conservatives hold dear.

6. A further obstacle to a patriotic and national policy being preached or adopted in this country.

The More Need for Patriotism.

All these new dangers brought upon us by this calamitous adventure must not discourage us. The greater the danger the greater the virtue in fighting it. We appeal to our readers who see the danger to spread and support the truth in every possible way. We on our side promise that they shall not lack ammunition in this fight for dear life, as it has now become, against the enemies of our country.

LETTERS OF A PATRIOT.—II.

Sir,—In contemplating the dangers threatening the Empire it is essential to regulate our views by a sense of proportion. The belief that "the country is going to the dogs" is ancient and eternally recurrent; and its strength varies with character, age, and worldly circumstances: it requires restraint. "The good old days when we were so miserable," says a French writer in his witty French way.

However, after due allowance for the personal equation, age of observer, and temporary legacies of the war, there remains the fact that we have to face a different set of difficulties from those of a hundred years ago: difficulties which are the direct product of intensive propaganda and political organisation by a group of theorists and politicians. They can, indeed, be traced to the increasing force of a set of opinions, none of which is the invention of this age, nor the necessary consequence of its state of civilisation, but permitting of appeal to many motives, both good and bad, of human nature. The most effective and dangerous of those opinions are :—

That patriotism is a wider form of selfishness, and should not be taught as a virtue; that religion is merely a soporific; that private ownership of wealth and freedom to make and use it are opposed to the general interest of the community; that there is one section of the people—described by the elastic term *Labour*—which alone has to be considered as having rights without duties, and therefore is entitled to use any means to enforce the supposed rights, without regard to the remaining and larger part of the nation.

The putting in practice of these opinions has been greatly facilitated by the prevalent public adoption of mere phrases as ideals, of weakness in place of justice, of opportunism for principle; and, in sum, there has been created a political state of mind which accounts for a stream of blunders, committed at home and abroad since the armistice. The truth of the statement can be tested all down the scale; from the case of our "intellectuals," who in foreign relations involving British interests "stand so upright that they lean backward," right to the logical Communists, who are watching and working for the day when the Bourgeoisie will be served up *à la Russe*.

The general public have been kept in ignorance of the organisation which has been long at work in journalism, in writing books and pamphlets, in the training of public speakers at Labour colleges, all directed to the spread of the opinions described which are supported by the twisting of economic laws by political interpretations: for there is much humbug in the so-called science of political economy. It is quite useless to attempt to meet the teaching of the past by mere counter-propaganda: time and money and organisation are all lacking for a really effective campaign. The fight must be in the arena of practical politics; and the immediate tactics must include the examination of every candidate for Parliament as to his convictions, and his determination to oppose actively the surrender by Government to the home enemies of the country. The majority of people do not want experiments continued further with their constitution, their freedom, and their daily bread. I shall attempt to point out the work of some of the experimenters, and the necessity for frustrating them.—Yours faithfully,

A. P.

THE PERIL IN INDIA.—II.

By SIR MICHAEL F. O'DWYER.

The enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu and the enforced retirement of Mr. Gandhi, who has at last been brought to justice and sentenced to six years' imprisonment for the sedition which he glories in having preached openly for years, have done much to clear the air both here and in India. The moral to be drawn from both events is that weakness and irresolution are the most fatal vices in dealing with Oriental peoples. For nearly three years the late Secretary of State and the Government of India, which was under his "superintendence and control," placidly looked on while Gandhi and his lieutenants, the Ali brothers, were stirring up disorder and rebellion through the length and breadth of India. But they shivered at the thought of dealing with a plain situation in a plain way—that is, by bringing the criminals to justice. They tried conciliation, negotiation with the arch criminals; they resorted to the cowardly, and now the British, method of punishing the followers and dupes, while the principals were left immune. This craven policy lost them the respect of all honest men in India, and emboldened the leading seditionists and rebels. The result is seen in the ten thousand Indian lives lost in the disorders and rebellions of the last two years, and in the appalling spread of lawlessness, insecurity, and open defiance of authority, in every province of India, menacing not only every British official and non-official, and every British interest, but also the security of the hundreds of millions of loyal and peaceful Indians who look to the British Government in India for protection.

Courage Pays.

At last the Government of India, probably under pressure from home, were compelled to bring to justice, first the Ali brothers for inciting the Indian army to rebellion, and then Gandhi for similar causes. What has happened? The terrible outbreaks, which the Government of India shuddered at the thought of, have nowhere appeared, the bubbles have been pricked, the "bogey man," whom the Government of India had created out of their own imagination to justify their cowardly inaction, has faded away, as ghosts do, at the first contact with reality. Gandhi, after a few weeks in gaol, is already a back number, and the authorities in India have regained some of their lost credit. So far, so well. But the evil that men do lives after them. Gandhi, in his three years' campaign of open hostility or secret propaganda against the "Satanic" Government, has, in many places, inoculated the disreputable and disloyal sections of the Intelligentsia, and the criminal elements among the masses, with the virus of anarchy and race-hatred; he has also left lieutenants or successors, whom his example has inspired, and his long immunity has encouraged, to carry on the evil work. Government, as the results of what Sir Sankaran Nair (formerly one of the most advanced Indian politicians, but now thoroughly alive to the danger to his own people) has described as "the culpable weakness of Lord Chelmsford's Government, which has been followed by Lord Reading's Government," is now confronted in every province of India with a formidable semi-military organisation well equipped with funds, whose avowed objects are to make Government impossible, and drive the British out of India.

Sikh Bolsheviks.

Thus in the Punjab the Akali Sikhs have been enrolled to the number of 25,000, in battalions (japhas) roughly armed with daggers, battleaxes, and in some cases firearms. They terrorise the central districts, and make no secret that their object is to restore the Sikh kingdom which disappeared after the Sikh war in 1848. These predatory bands are maintained by forced levies on the civil population, and by the monies and treasures of the rich Sikh shrines (often endowed by Government) which a feeble administration has allowed them to confiscate under the guise of religious reformers. The Government is now, at the eleventh hour, carrying out combined military and police movements over the Central Punjab to disarm and break up these formidable bodies, which would never have come into existence had a little firmness and foresight been shown in the last two years. Little is reported of the progress of these operations, but we shall be fortunate if they are effected without serious collisions. Much depends on the attitude of the Sikhs in the Indian army and police, to corrupt whom a campaign of misrepresentation has been steadily carried on, hitherto with little check or hindrance from those in authority.

Similarly, in the United Provinces, the North of India, Gandhi's followers have been busy among the rural masses, some of whom have legitimate grievances against harsh or absentee landlords. They have set on foot a movement somewhat similar to the Irish Land League of 1880, hostile not only to the Indian landlords, but to the British Government, which is represented to be at their back. This movement, too, as usually happens in India, has fallen under the control of some of the most desperate and dangerous of the local criminals, and unless speedily checked will inevitably deteriorate into the terrorism and rapine associated with the Jacquerie.

The Budmashes of Bengal.

In Bengal, Behar and Bombay, the lawlessness which Gandhi propagated has taken the form of political strikes on the railway, in the coal mines, jute factories, tea-gardens, of preventing the importation of or burning British goods, and by working for the ruin of every British industry. In every part of India British life and British property are in danger, and loyal Indians are equally anxious as to their future, having lost confidence in a Government which has shown itself powerless to punish, or to protect.

This is the legacy that Mr. Montagu has left after nearly five years' control of Indian affairs. Already, in the few weeks since his retirement, there are signs of improvement, and the Provincial Governments and local officials are shaking themselves free from the obsession that they will be thrown to the wolves if they do their duty. The awakening of the Press, the public, and Parliament here to the realities of the situation in India is doing much to strengthen and encourage our servants and our friends there, for in the last resort British public opinion is the tribunal to which they appeal. They have little to hope from the new representative bodies in India, who have already made it clear that their object is to squeeze or starve the British official and the British merchant out of India as soon as possible, and to reduce the British Army, which is the main bul-

wark in India against external aggression and internal anarchy.

The Legislative Assembly of India has just completed its session. The main achievements are significant. They have refused to pass several items of new taxation, leaving an anticipated deficit of at least six millions sterling: they have shelved a Bill to penalise attempts to seduce the police from their allegiance; they have repealed the special legislation, which enabled Government to take prompt action to suppress rebellion and anarchical crime! The Viceroy has so far shown no disposition to make use of the special powers vested in him to safeguard the "safety and tranquillity of British India" by overriding the action of the untrained, irresponsible, and unrepresentative Assembly. The situation is still most serious, and demands the earnest consideration of the authority finally responsible—the British public and the British Parliament.

OUR PRIVY COUNCILLORS.

MR. THOMAS AS VICAR OF BRAY.

The oath which is administered to Privy Councillors concludes with the words: "*Solemnly and sincerely declare that you will be a true and faithful servant of His Majesty . . . as one of His Majesty's Privy Council. You shall keep secret all matters committed and revealed unto you, or that shall be secretly treated of in Council, and generally in all things you shall do as a faithful and true servant ought to do to His Majesty.*"

The trust put in the discretion and faithfulness of those taking the high position—accompanied as it is by the assumption of the title of "*Right Honourable*"—imposes very distinct obligations on the recipients; in fact, the requirement of them should be similar to the ancient expectation of Cæsar's wife, not as misquoted by the absent-minded vicar: "All things to all men." Events of late years suggest that the administration of the oath of office should be supplemented by a ceremony, in which a neat scroll of the words is pasted inside the hat of the new Councillor to keep his memory refreshed.

The case of Sir Edgar Speyer was, it is to be feared, too severe for the expectation of any benefit from the suggested treatment; and comes under the head of the more obvious preventive remedy of choosing only men of British blood to counsel a British King.

The case of the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas might be more charitably considered. When the Council of Direct Action was formed in August, 1920, Mr. Thomas took an active part in the movement, which was not only to force a change of policy in Russia, but to establish an organised Soviet system throughout the country, and to coerce the great majority of the nation, when the Socialists should decide to seize all public services and the control of the food supply, following a general strike engineered by a minority. The character of the movement can be described in the words of Mr. Thomas himself at one of the meetings on organisation:—

> Giving effect to this resolution does not mean a mere strike. It does not mean a simple "down tools" policy. If this resolution is to be given effect to, it means a change to the whole Constitution of the country. (Loud cheers, renewed again and again.) I do not want to vote for this resolution merely because it does mean a fight against the Constitution. I do not believe that the overwhelming mass of our people desire that, but I do believe that we are a united Labour movement, and that we can carry with us the whole of the working classes and say: "Much as we would regret the action and deplore the circumstances, of the two alternatives we are prepared to take the risk of the one whatever the consequences."

In November, 1920, when Mr. W. A. Appleton, an old trade union leader, resigned the presidency of the International Federation of Trade Unions—because "its conceptions and policy threaten the stability of society and the interests of all classes"—Mr. Thomas took the vacant chair at the head of a movement which the American Labour leader, Mr. Gompers, described as a "revolutionary body."

Mr. Facing-Both-Ways.

During the great coal strike, in April, 1921, a manifesto was issued by the Triple Alliance, just before its breakdown from the known fact that the men as a body could not be counted on to come out in a general strike. That manifesto was described in THE PATRIOT of 23 February on page 13, and was a direct incitement to resistance to the Government's efforts to prevent the public services being entirely stopped by strikers. Mr. Thomas's name appeared as a signatory to that document; and in the libel case Mr. Thomas brought in December, 1921, against the *Communist* newspaper, his counsel explained to the judge that the signature was unauthorised, and was repudiated publicly a month later by Mr. Thomas. The explanation was that he considered "the document would do him harm and bring upon his head a shower of abuse, but he felt that if he disclaimed it it might do harm to the miners' case. He disclaimed it privately." This lawsuit was a very remarkable one, because both sides wanted to make public almost the same thing. Mr. Thomas wished it to be known that he was not associated with the active policy of Red Labour, and was himself White, or moderate; and the Communists had published a serious libel in the endeavour to show that Mr. Thomas was only Red in spots, and could be no true friend of Labour unless Red all over. Mr. Thomas won easily, and secured a verdict of £2,000 damages; but incidents like those above-mentioned show that there are parts of his political anatomy which require holy-stoning.

The Right Hon. J. R. Clynes joined the Council of Direct Action on its formation, and explained that in his view there was no alternative to the threat of Direct Action, because no Parliamentary or political method could be effective. He is always active in the mass organisation of Labour of all kinds to form an effective instrument in the hands of a General Staff for rapid decisions on the political use of the force thus created.

Then there was the case of the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, who found his double position as Secretary to the Labour Party (which was doing its utmost to have a conference with our enemies at Stockholm) and his duties on the War Cabinet clashed, so that he resigned from the latter on 11 August, 1917. Mr. Henderson's pre-occupation in arranging a meeting with German Socialists to settle future peace terms, and, later, his elaboration of the details of a world peace with the then Russian Government, left much to be desired in his right honourable position.

We might take this examination further; but we have said enough to prove our point, which is that the "moderate Labour Leader," even although he may be at heart a moderate man, is useless as a custodian of the national safety, either because he lacks the moral courage or because he has not the power to resist the extremists of his party. Moderate Labour is a broken staff which pierces the hand that leans upon it.

THE OUTLOOK IN IRELAND.

In considering the relations of North and South, it is mere waste of time to attempt to form any conclusion as to the cause of the present campaign of outrage in Belfast, as in the South, no matter how strong the evidence, only one explanation would be tolerated by the majority. Mr. Collins, before starting for London, fixed the blame on the British Government. "It is they who have brought the Belfast Parliament into existence; it is they who have given it the power and money which it is using in its campaign of wholesale murder and outrage against the Catholics." With a view to creating an atmosphere for the Conference, he made a bitter attack on the Northern Prime Minister, and charged him with a deliberate refusal to honour any obligation he might incur towards the South. Until the attitude of the I.R.A. is known it is too early, owing to the weakness of the Provisional Government and the bitter hostility to the North, to predict that the Agreement can be loyally observed.

An Army of Occupation.

One aspect of the Northern question deserves attention, and that is, Why do the Free State keep an armed force in the six counties? The Chief of the Staff of the I.R.A., speaking of the recent Convention, said that the division produced by it in the ranks of the army gave "Craig licence for his nefarious work in the North." "Attempts," he said, "are being made to create disaffection among our troops at a time when life itself depends entirely on the amount of protection our troops can give to an outraged Catholic population." Clause 11 of the Articles of Agreement says "that until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland." In other words, the Government of the South has no powers or functions in the North. What right, then, has it to maintain an armed force there? To do so can only be regarded as a violation of the Treaty, and is, in fact, an act of war against the North. The loyalists of the South have to submit to the Provisional Government. Why, then, should the disloyal elements in the North be permitted to maintain an armed force for their supposed protection? The explanation that it is not a Free State force, but the I.R.A. working under the authority of the Dail, which assumes authority over an undivided Ireland, cannot alter the facts, and is only a further proof of the impotence of the Free State to govern.

The Common Enemy.

The position of both parties in the South is that the North must be brought into a united Ireland, but they differ as to the means by which this is to be accomplished. The Republicans say that the acceptance of the Treaty perpetuates Partition, that the Northern Parliament is a usurping authority, a mere creation of a British Act of Parliament, and that the only means of destroying Partition is by compelling the withdrawal of British influence; while the Free State view is that the Treaty gives the power of compelling Ulster to come in by means of the Boundary Commission. Mr. Collins said that there was "now no alternative for them but to consider how they could join in with the rest of their countrymen without too great an appearance of surrender."

If prosperity is to come to Ireland, some understanding must be reached between North and South; but the present attitude of the South makes agreement difficult. The Republicans have expressed the desire for a suspension of the present political differences with a view to united action against Ulster. They also assert that the action of the North in massing troops on the frontier, and fortifying it with the assistance of the British Government, is done for the purpose of setting the Treaty aside, and that no further steps should be taken to carry out the terms till common action had been taken. If union between the two parties comes on these terms, civil war is the inevitable result, and as such union can only come on the basis of a Republic, the Treaty would be at an end. As the differences in the South become more and more acute, the temptation to secure an appearance of harmony by united action against the "common enemy" becomes the more pressing.

The Automatocracy.

The prohibited Convention of the I.R.A. was held in Dublin on Sunday, the inevitable result of which will be a considerable secession from the Free State, and the probable establishment of an opposition army. How great the danger is, is shown by the official view: "For soldiers of the nation, while holding individual views, there was only one course—obedience to constituted authority. Unless this was driven home to the minds of the people there was no future before the Irish nation except anarchy, chaos, and ultimate destruction."

The newly formed Executive has issued a decree that the Minister of Defence having adopted a policy calculated to subvert the Republic shall exercise no further control over the Army, and that those at present serving in the Free State Army and Civic Guard shall return to their respective units, while the Chief of the Staff retaliates with an order relieving all ranks of the responsibility of obeying commands issued by a superior officer who has severed his connection with the I.R.A. by reason of his recognition of the Executive. The *Freeman* published a report of the Convention in which it is said that a declaration was made of a military dictatorship with a view to ordering the dissolution of all pretending Governments in Ireland, by prohibition of elections until such time as an election without threat of war from Britain can be held on adult suffrage. Such a dictatorship would overthrow Dail Eireann, the Provisional Government, the Northern and British Governments.

A Free Hand for the Executive.

There were differences of opinion, however; some delegates did not consider the dissolution of the Governments practical, as in the case of Dail Eireann and the Provisional Government it would mean civil war, which would play into Britain's hands, whilst interference with the Northern or British Governments would mean certain war with England. One of those in favour of dictatorship said, "the only people who counted would be on the side of the Republic, and the other side, called public opinion and civilians,

would not matter much as they would be our enemies. The question of finance would not cause much trouble as money could be had for the taking; the National Press could be held up by commandeering the existing machinery or using the sledge." This last experiment has already been tried on the *Freeman*. The decision finally reached was that the considered opinion of the Executive should be submitted to the Convention in April, but that in the meantime if the Executive thought fit they could suppress the elections.

The Belfast Boycott.

It is as yet too early to know the full effect; but the first important decision of the Convention was the renewal of the Belfast boycott in an extended form for the whole six counties, and goods trains from Belfast have already been derailed and the goods destroyed. The Provisional Government having some time ago removed the boycott, this action at once brings the I.R.A. into conflict with constituted authority, and the action of the Provisional Government will be eagerly awaited. Will it give way and renew the boycott? This question has for some time been a burning one between Free Staters and Republicans, the latter having fiercely denounced Mr. Collins for the removal and constantly pressed for the renewal of the boycott, which would be hailed as a striking tribute to the increasing power of the Republicans.

The Free State is, in fact, powerless over large parts of the country. Law and order cannot be maintained, collisions have occurred between Free State troops and the I.R.A., barracks occupied by Free Staters have been seized by the I.R.A., levies are made in many parts for the I.R.A. without restriction, the orders of the Provisional Government are disregarded at will, it was too weak to enforce the prohibition of the Convention, works and farms are seized by the workers, and no protection is afforded. If any question is raised in the House of Commons, the answer is that when the Provisional Government has been legalised all will be well. The truth is, that the position of the Provisional Government is exactly the same as was the position of the British Government in Ireland last June. The British Government, when faced with armed rebellion, gave up the game as hopeless. How can it be expected that a newly formed Government, no matter how good its intentions, can carry on with even the remotest chance of success and perform the functions which were beyond the powers of the British Government? Ministers have claimed that the creation of such a state of affairs is the highest degree of statesmanship, yet Ireland is on the verge of civil war, and the opinion has been expressed, and present conditions point to the truth of this view, that in spite of all that has happened in recent years, the country does not yet know what trouble is.

The Bolshevik at Work.

One aspect of the condition of Ireland is quite left out of account. Mr. Churchill said: "We had seen how helpless the majority of the people were against the tyranny of even a small gang of armed Communists, who had once seized power. Had Johannesburg been left at the mercy of a gang of bullies and scoundrels, it would have been pillaged and plundered, it would have been subjected to a blood bath of Soviet despotism. The same kind of evil forces were at work in every community, but they shall not succeed in this country, we shall take measures in our own island to protect ourselves from such dangers." These forces are now working vigorously, and with a considerable degree of success in Ireland. There are several armies in Ireland, the Free State, Republican, British and Northern forces, and perhaps the most dangerous, even if not so well known, the Citizen Army, the fighting weapon of the Bolshevist Labour organisation, the Transport Union. Its aim is the creation of a Workers' Republic on Soviet lines, and, whether it is allied with the Republicans or not, it is definitely opposed to the Provisional Government as being a capitalist form of Government, whose members are drawn from the "Bourgeoisie."

Just as the Bolshevists in Russia were able to seize power during the difficult period of a newly-established Government, so in Ireland the political strife and dissension is providing a fine opportunity for the spread of Communist ideas, and the disputes between the rival armies is giving the Citizen Army the chance of gaining supreme power. What measures can be taken to protect Great Britain if these forces are successful in Ireland? It has always been the Communist view that the independence of Ireland was the first essential for the overthrow of England, and even the limited independence given by the Treaty can be turned to account. The revolutionary agitation of recent times due to Bolshevist exertions and the dangers ensuing therefrom are now well known; the difficulties will be well-nigh overwhelming if a Bolshevist régime is paramount in Ireland. The power given by the I.R.A. to their new Executive of suppressing the elections raises an important point on which there has already been considerable dispute between the Free Staters and Republicans.

The Coming Elections.

Mr. de Valera contended that the election should not be held till a new register was completed and the suffrage given to women between the ages of 21 and 30. Mr. Griffith refused to allow a new register or an extension of the franchise, which he promised to carry out after the elections. The view is that, owing to shifting residence caused by the war and the coming of age of thousands of young soldiers since the last register, the situation is that those who did most for Ireland will be deprived of any say on what is accepted for the price they paid. "It is the young people who will have to live in the Free State, if there is a Free State, who have the right to vote." It is unquestionably true that all the younger people of both sexes are strongly Republican; so that an election fought on the present register is strongly in favour of the Free State, yet if such an election is carried through, how can the Free State carry on when the majority in the country feel that they have been debarred from expressing their wishes. In the end Mr. de Valera is reported to have said that the election would be carried through on proper and honourable lines, or else there will be no election.

The I.R.A. have now openly expressed their hostility to the policy of the Provisional Government, and are undoubtedly in the position to prevent any free and unfettered election being held. Judging from the present feeling in the country, this power will certainly be used, but what the result will be can only be surmised.

The outlook for the whole of Ireland is at present very grave. It is not yet too late for the Imperial Government to straighten matters, if only it would make a determined pronouncement that the Treaty, both as regards North and South, must be strictly observed; but the time within which this can usefully be done is fast coming to an end.

HORNY-HANDED SONS OF TOIL.

SOME LABOUR PARTY CANDIDATES.

Until its Nottingham conference in 1918 membership of the Labour Party was confined to trade unionism and affiliated Socialist and Co-operative Societies. At that conference — which was addressed on January 22 by the Jew Litvinoff, who had been known to the police previous to the war as an associate of West End blackmailers—the Labour Party yielded to the logic of events. The conference was compelled to recognise that there were certain Liberal ex-M.P.s the malevolence of whose hatred displayed during the war to the land that gave them birth had swept away all lingering doubt as to their right to enter the Labour Party. However hypocritical it might seem to call men Labour candidates who possessed huge incomes and never did a day's work in their lives, how could Labour overlook the fact that some of them during the war had undergone the prison warder's stern correction of skilly-drinking and oakum-picking at Wormwood Scrubbs? Even though some were known to be hostile to trade unionism, how impossible to deny Labour Party membership to men who in the very crisis of England's agony, when good English life-blood was flowing like water, had to be punished by their own countrymen in order to restrain them from assisting the King's enemies?

For this reason the Labour Party constitution was so altered as to take in anyone—that is to say, anyone below a certain line. The line drawn at Nottingham was not against class, for there is one ex-Liberal M.P. Labour candidate who never forgets to impress his Labour Party audiences by telling them that he was once a royal page. Neither was the line drawn at riches, for one Labour candidate in London during the last general election was a wealthy quack doctor with a cure for fits, who paid super-tax on an income of six thousand a year.

The line was certainly not drawn to exclude those who never labour, for this important point was clearly established on oath at the Old Bailey on April 22, 1920, by no less an authority than the Chief Whip of the Labour Party. On that day a Labour candidate who had been a *Daily Herald* contributor, and who had been previously convicted for stealing jewellery, was sentenced for obtaining money under false pretences. Having stated in his defence that his only capital was influence with Labour M.P.s, and having, with democratic impartiality, used House of Commons and House of Lords headed letter paper for correspondence purposes during his fraud, the late Mr. Tyson Wilson, M.P., was called as a witness. Mr. Wilson's evidence is of value as an authoritative contradiction of the popular fallacy that the Labour Party has anything to do with Labour.

"Mr. Tyson Wilson, M.P., who was called at this stage, said he wrote to Mr. Kellaway a letter introducing the defendant.

"Replying to further questions, witness said that he knew that the defendant was a Labour candidate.

"Mr. Justice Darling: But as to any labour he has done, you do not know?

"Witness: No, my lord.

"Mr. Justice Darling: There is just a question, after what happened yesterday, whether I shall not find him some. (To witness): Does a Labour candidate have to be a man who works, or who ever has worked?

"Witness: Not necessarily, my lord."

—(*Morning Post*, 23 April, 1920.)

In view of stage heroics by M.P.s such as Mr. J. H. Thomas, an announcement may here be noted in passing which disposes of the Labour Party pretence of putting up any sort of honest fight against the Communists. It appears over the official list of Communist Parliamentary candidates, one of whom is a coloured boy called Saklatvala, who is standing in Battersea, and reads thus:—

"The following members of the party (the Communist Party) are proposed as Labour Party candidates, and will receive the party support."—The *Communist*, 4 March, 1922.

So much for the sincerity of "sane Labour fighting the extremists." Two cases are here cited to show the sort of thing that seems to attract the Labour Party in choosing candidates. The first is that of a minister much interested in Labour Party success. It will be recalled that towards the end of the great war, a peculiarly odious kind of pacifist propaganda made its appearance, which took the form of allegations of vice against the Army. What was called "the W.A.A.C. lie" was the commonest of these anti-patriotic slanders. At Congleton Police Court this minister was fined £40 on Monday, 15 April, 1918, for the following statement:—

"There is a Government order in relation to the W.A.A.C.s, one of whose clauses is as follows: If any of these girls give birth to a child, and the girl is single, the Government will pay the girl £15 and takes custody of the child and keeps same."

The second case is one of those numerous instances of ex-Servicemen successfully corrupted after discharge, and encouraged to cast dirt at the uniform he wore. At Rotherham Police Court, on Saturday, 14 February, 1920, an ex-bluejacket was charged with saying at an open-air Labour Party meeting:—

"During the war I was on a submarine chaser. We deliberately sank some of our own submarines —our own, mark you, not Germans. What was this done for? Simply to keep up hatred between British and German working men. You have heard of raids on the East Coast, such as Scarborough and the Hartlepools. That was done by British battleships, not German."

The interest of these two cases lies not so much in the fact that both men are now Labour candidates, as that they are the sort of candidate which receives support from the heads of the official Labour Party. At the last general election a Herald League spouter stood as Labour candidate for North Islington. Although this man had served six months for sedition during the war, posters appeared in North Islington reproducing a letter signed by Mr. J. H. Thomas supporting his candidature.

The Labour Party candidates in the last general election included Mr. Arnold Lupton, ex-Liberal M.P., sentenced to six months at Bow Street on 16 January, 1918, for anti-recruiting pamphlets; Mr. Joseph King, ex-Liberal M.P., fined at Bow Street on 20 October, 1916, for sending information out of the country; Mr. Bertrand Russell, sentenced to six months at Bow Street, on 9 February, 1918, for sedition; "E. D. Morel," or whatever his name is, sentenced to six months at Bow Street, on 4 September, 1917, for sending news out of the country; John Maclean, sentenced

to three years at Edinburgh on 12 April, 1916; together with some more ex-Liberal M.P.s, such as Messrs. Arthur Ponsonby, Charles Trevelyan, and Roden Buxton, repudiated by different Liberal Associations for anti-patriotic behaviour during the war. The lesser fry of Labour candidates include D. Kirkwood and the Jew Shinwell, both of whom were batoned in an unsuccessful attempt to start a Soviet at Glasgow on 31 January, 1919; the Rev. "Don't Go" Dunnico, fined £20 at Aberdare Police Court, on 27 February, 1918, for attempting to cause disaffection; J. T. W. Newbold, fined £25 at Buxton Police Court on 18 November, 1915, for attempting to stop munitions coming into this country; together with most of the leading conscientious objectors, and also, as a sort of by-product of the surrender to the Sinn Fein murder gang, a number of ex-Home Rule Irish M.P.s, who, having escaped to this country for fear of being murdered in their own, have suddenly discovered that they belong to the Labour Party. R. H. G.

AMERICAN POLICY AND BRITISH INTERESTS.

THE CASE OF SHIPPING.

By E. T. GOOD.

The Americans, thanks to British politicians, have succeeded in establishing the principle that the compact and invulnerable United States has the agreed right to have the same naval power as the widely scattered and exposed British Empire, with its very heart and centre liable to starvation by blockade. And our "cousins" are deliberately planning the abolition of our supremacy in commercial ships.

Immediately after the Armistice the Americans proposed an agreement, or syndicate, under which we should share our shipping trade with them. They had previously set themselves out to beat us by competition. When they saw that that was hopeless they proposed co-operation. It was not found practicable just then to form an international shipping combine, so it was decided to adopt the ship subsidy plan, and similar methods. A great scheme for subsidising American ships and penalising our vessels in American ports and waters is now being submitted. The Americans may do as they like with their own ships, ports, and tariffs. We cannot interfere. We can only take our own measures for the protection of our own interests. But we have a right to protest against the Bulwer-Lytton and Hay-Pauncefote Treaties being regarded as "scraps of paper," and if and when the shipping co-operation scheme for the abolition of British shipping supremacy is again pressed, as it will be if the subsidisation plan fails, we shall have the right to decline the overture. Shall we have the sense? Twenty odd years ago we were supreme in steel rails. But we joined with the American, Germans, and others in the formation of an international steel rail syndicate, we immediately fell to a bad third place in that trade, and in recent years we have not had steel rail mills enough to meet the needs of our own railways and tramways, much less to take our due share of export business in steel rails.

Heads We Win Tails You Lose.

It is worth remarking that in the automobile and typewriter trades, where the Americans are competitively strong, we never hear of any trade-sharing schemes. Where the Americans can beat us it is competition, keen and ruthless, and relentless. But in heavy steel exportation, and in ocean shipping, where the Americans are competitively weak, owing to vast transport distances and other factors, our friends desire to co-operate with us. They take the leading part in a syndicate which robs us of our trade in steel rails. They share the world's markets (outside the United States) with us. They clap heavy tariffs on our steel going into their market. In order to filch the secrets of our metallurgists they have introduced a Bill to compel us to reveal the composition of our special steels on our invoices before such steels can enter the United States market. They have dictated the number of naval ships we shall have. They are seeking to destroy our status in merchant ships.

When the big war broke out the Americans thought, and openly said, that one result of the struggle would be such an inflation of British, German, and other shipbuilding and shipping costs that in these twin trades the United States would at last be able to compete successfully. Vast amounts of money were immediately invested in shipyards and shipping companies. It is represented that the Americans simply started building their great fleet of cargo boats in order to counteract the effects of the German submarine campaign, and to help our side. The truth is that the American shipbuilding boom started before there was any idea of the United States taking part in the war. The Americans laid their plans to "lick creation" in shipping. Among other things, they talked of allowing their own ships to use the Panama Canal free, whilst charging heavy tolls on foreign ships, in violation of international treaties. They introduced a measure to encourage our seamen to "desert" when in American ports. They proposed subsidies for American ships, preferential tariffs on goods carried in American ships, and discriminatory tariffs on goods carried in our vessels, and other measures. They openly declared that they would make themselves the chief shipping nation.

American Measures.

However, as the war proceeded it was found that costs mounted up in America much as in Europe. In 1916, it was estimated for the United States Trade Convention that our British shipbuilding costs per ton were still 60 per cent. less than the American costs. The United States Government joined in the shipbuilding and shipping campaign. Since then it has spent three thousand million dollars on ships.

When the ground for the Washington Conference was being prepared, the scandalous Fordney Tariff Bill was suspended. Our steel manufacturers who went to the United States to appeal against the amazing clauses dealing with trade secrets were most courteously received, and actually made to feel that they had secured the definite withdrawal of the penal provisions. The talk of ship subsidies, and of Panama Canal discriminations, was kept in check. But now that the Washington Conference has secured the abject surrender of British Imperial interests, the Fordney Tariff Bill is reintroduced, and the shipping subsidy plan is revealed and tabled. It is proposed that the vast fleet of ships owned by the Shipping Board be disposed of to private capitalists; that 10 per cent. of the

country's Customs receipts be appropriated for shipping subsidies; that all vessels entering United States ports shall pay a special tonnage tax, the entire proceeds to be added to the subsidies; that the Panama Canal be free for American ships, whilst others pay full toll for its upkeep, in disregard of treaties to the contrary; that goods imported in American vessels enjoy preferential tariffs; that passengers on foreign ships be penalised; that specially low railway rates be granted on export goods going by home vessels, and so forth.

The International Trap.

If the above plan fails to carry, through agricultural opposition, which has to be reckoned with in the United States, then the American shipping interests will immediately renew their proposals for an international shipping agreement, under which freights shall be maintained at such a level that even American ships may be profitable, and under which we shall voluntarily share enormous slices of our hard-earned ocean-carrying trade with our "cousins." It will be the case of the pre-war international steel rail syndicate over again. The Americans and others who will be brought into the pool will seek to share the trade, not on the basis of national needs, which would give Britain precisely what she has got—the largest share of the trade—but on the basis of either population or internal productive resources (ignoring our Empire, of course, as was done by the rail syndicate), thus giving America the biggest share, Germany the second, and ourselves the third. It is to be noted that the Americans have already supplied steel plates for German shipbuilding, and that American shipping interests are employing German shipping experts. We can join in no such scheme except as losers. What British trade cannot get by its own organisation, it will never obtain as a unit of any international syndicate. Our unique position as a food-importing and coal-exporting country, our vital dependence on ships, our Empire requirements—all such points will be either ignored or voted down by a syndicate composed mainly of our rivals, not to say enemies. Our naval supremacy has been attacked—successfully attacked and beaten down. Our commercial shipping supremacy is now to be attacked. If hostile tariffs and subsidies fail, voluntary co-operation will be tried? Shall we surrender?

TRADE UNION NOTES.

Sir,—During the last week I have had opportunities of having conversation with several of the "collectors" of members' subscriptions of trades unions referred to in my previous notes. These are collected at work during the week, and, having paid their weekly subscription to the collector, their interest in the business of the branch and union ends. One of these collectors informed me that he had over £14 to pay in at "branch night," and another that he had over £15. Now both these were in large industrial centres, and the amounts of subscriptions were made up in sums ranging from 5d. to 11d. This shows very clearly that there are large numbers availing themselves of this opportunity of paying their contributions instead of taking an active interest in their branch. This is one of a number of things we are striving to alter.

Referring once more to the Political Fund of our trades unions and members claiming exemption or otherwise. The following information may interest some of those who pay to the fund yet do not approve of the objects to which it is put.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, who are running Parliamentary candidates at the next election, are to be financed with the assistance of the National Union of Railwaymen. An application from the Confederation for a loan of £5,000 was considered by the N.U.R. Executive Committee, who, according to an official announcement, granted the application, the money issued from the N.U.R. Political Fund.

It would be interesting to trades unionists generally, and members of the N.U.R. particularly, especially those who pay to that political fund, if an "official announcement" was made indicating the principles and views (politically) held by the prospective candidates of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, who will be financed by the N.U.R. Some of us had an idea when we joined the N.U.R. that we were joining for trades union purposes, and not as a political organisation.

I have received during the last few days several anonymous postcards, one of which intimates that, although I am a member of the N.U.R., "it is evident I am not of the Labour Party," and the writer informs me that "neither the Tory Party nor the Liberal Party ever have, or ever will do anything to benefit the working classes."

It is quite possible that my correspondent, having read my previous remarks in THE PATRIOT, will, in all probability, read these words, and I would inform him that we, as a League of Trades Unionists, know no politics—individually we have our own views—but the constitution of the League precludes any connection, directly or indirectly, with any political party, as the following extract will show:—

"To organise from time to time meetings and conferences of trades unionists where full expression may be given to opinions on the economic aspect of trades unionism, entirely detached from political influence."

The writer of this particular postcard exhibits a total ignorance of political history, and if he will send me his name and address, I will prove to him how erroneous his statement is, and at the same time I would point out to him that we have as much right to our opinions as he or they have, and equally as much right to express them.

It was mentioned to me yesterday in Manchester that we were attempting the impossible. My answer to that was by attempting the impossible we should in all probability achieve the possible, which is our object.

Arrangements are now being made for a Conference to be held in Manchester on Saturday, 1 July next, when we hope to have a good gathering of members of important trades unions from various parts of the country, who, although they are ardent trades unionists, realise the fact that we were not born trades unionists, but British citizens, and are determined to have that full freedom of action which we claim as our right on all questions affecting organised labour generally, and also to make our views felt—in responsible quarters—not only affecting our welfare personally as trades unionists, but also the community at large. Our movement is one really for democratising the trades unions, which are governed at the present time on very autocratic lines.

W. E. LOVEDAY (N.U.R.).

THE GERMAN BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY.

MR. SISSON'S REPORT.

We have already published the introduction to the sensational report written by Mr. Edgar Sisson, special representative in Russia of the United States Committee on Public Information in the winter of 1917-1918. But, as the report has been ignored in this country, we propose to publish further instalments.

Three groups of documents are subjected to internal analysis in the material that follows. One group consists of originals, one group consists of photographs of documents believed still to be in the file rooms of the Russian Bolsheviki, and the third (Appendix 1) of typewritten circulars that have not been traced to their originals except, perhaps, in the case of two of the number. The chief importance of the third group is that its appearance inspired the efforts that led to the uncovering of the other groups. And they fit into the fabric of the whole.

The first set of these appendix circulars came into my hands on 2 February, in Petrograd. An additional set appeared the following day at an office where I frequently called. A third appeared in another quarter a day afterwards. One set was in Russian and two in English. On 5 February I held all three sets. A possible explanation for their appearance at this time and their intent is given in Appendix 1. By themselves they were plausible, but not substantiated. Having first performed the obvious duty of analysing them for surface values and transmitting them and the analyses to Washington, I turned, therefore, to the task of further investigations. It is not yet possible to name those who helped, but in three weeks' time the judgment of facts became apparent.

The text of the documents discloses both the methods and the effects of the German conspiracy, not alone against Russia, but the world. With each document is the indication of whether it is an original or photograph. With each document is an interpretative note.

DOCUMENT No. 1.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(Very Secret.)

PETROGRAD, 16 November, 1917.

To the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars:

In accordance with the resolution passed by the conference of People's Commissars, Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Podvoisky, Dybenko, and Volodarsky, the following has been executed by us:

1. In the archives of the Ministry of Justice from the dossier *re* "treason" of Comrades Lenin, Zinovieff, Koslovsky, Kollontai, and others, has been removed the order of the German Imperial Bank, No. 7433, of the second of March, 1917, for allowing money to Comrades Lenin, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Trotsky, Sumenson, Koslovsky, and others for the propaganda of peace in Russia.

2. There have been audited all the books of the Nia Bank at Stockholm containing the accounts of Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Zinovieff, and others, which were opened by the order of the German Imperial Bank No. 2754. These books have been delivered to Comrade Müller, who was sent from Berlin.

Authorised by the Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

E. POLIVANOFF.
F. ZALKIND.

NOTE.—The Russian Council of People's Commissars was dominated by the President, Vladimir Ulianov (Lenin), the then Foreign Minister; Leon Trotsky, now War Minister; and the Ambassador to Germany, A. Joffe. The marginal indorsement in writing is: "To the secret department.—B. E." This is the fashion in which Lenin is accustomed to initial himself. The English equivalent would be V. U., for Vladimir Ulianov. So, even if there existed no further record of German Imperial Bank order No. 7433, here would be the proof of its contents, and here is the link connecting Lenin directly with his action and his guilt. The content matter of the circular exists, however, and herewith follows:

Order of the 2nd of March, 1917, of the Imperial Bank for the representatives of all German banks in Sweden:

Notice is hereby given that requisition for money for the purpose of peace propaganda in Russia will be received through Finland. These requisitions will emanate from the following: Lenin, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Trotsky, Sumenson, Koslovsky, Kollontai, Sivers, and Merkalin, accounts for whom have been opened in accordance with our order No. 2754 in the agencies of private German businesses in Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland. All these requests should bear one of the two following signatures: Dirshau or Milkenberg. With either of these signatures the requests of the above-mentioned persons should be complied with without delay.

7433, Imperial Bank.

I have not a copy of this circular nor a photograph of it, but Document No. 2, next in order, proves its authenticity at once curiously and absolutely. Particular interest attaches to this circular because of Bolshevik public denial of its existence. It was one of several German circulars published in Paris in the *Petit Parisien* last winter. The Petrograd Bolshevik papers proclaimed it a falsehood. Zalkind, whose signature appears not only here, but on the protocol (Document No. 3), was an Assistant Foreign Minister. He was sent in February on a mission outside of Russia. He was in Christiania in April when I was there. Have photograph of the letter.

DOCUMENT No. 2.

G[reat] G[eneral] S[taff], Intelligence [Nachrichten] Bureau, Section A, No. 292.

(Secret.)

12 February, 1918.

To the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars:—

The Intelligence Bureau has the honour to inform you that there were found on the arrested Capt. Konshin two German documents with notations and stamps of the Petersburg secret police [Okhrana] which show themselves to be the original orders of the Imperial Bank, No. 7433, 2 March, 1917, concerning the opening of accounts for Messrs. Lenin, Sumenson, Koslovsky, Trotsky, and other active workers on the peace propaganda, by order No. 2754 of the Imperial Bank.

These discoveries show that at the proper time steps were not taken to destroy the above-mentioned documents.

For the head of the Bureau: R. BAUER.
Adjutant: BUKHOLM.

NOTE.—Observe the thoughtfulness with which Bauer, a careful man, set down exactly what was in the document, thereby permitting the contents to rise again from the ashes to which, perhaps, he committed the damaging paper. He admits that the documents found were truthful originals. The world will thank him, and Germany will not.

I have the original letter. It bears marginal indorsements: "Referred to the Commission for Combating Counter Revolution. Demanded documents. M. Skripnik"; and an illegible comment by N. Gorbunoff, Lenin's other Government secretary. The letter is directed to Lenin. Did Skripnik get the documents? I do not know.

The letter is remarkable otherwise, for the arrested Capt. Konshin mentioned is a German officer, Lieut. Otto, who appears elsewhere as an agent in the German double-crossing intrigue in the Ukraine. What was behind the mystery of his arrest? What was his fate?

NOTE.—(1 October, 1918.) The order of 2 March, 1917, as pointed out in the note to Document 1, has had publicity since last winter, and naturally has been subject to the attack of the defenders of Lenin and Trotsky. The effort at confusion, however, is of the straw-man variety. If this date were in the Western Europe calendar, it would precede the March Revolution. So the defenders of Lenin and Trotsky have argued against the letter that it must have been written by a Counter-Revolutionary Russian who *forgot* the thirteen days' difference in time between the Russian and the European calendar. Curiously, the persons who make this contention overlook the reverse of such an argument—that the order was written by a German who *knew and used* the Russian calendar. He ought in common sense to have used it, as the letter was written to state when orders for money from Russians would be honoured.

The Germans who manœuvred in Russia were letter perfect in Russian form (See Document 5, "who use the Russian language perfectly and who are acquainted with Russian conditions").

But the date, 2 March, may be either German or Russian, for any important bearing it has on the documents. If German, it was written before the March Revolution, but in preparation for getting into it as soon as it started. Many persons, both in Russia and in Germany, knew of an impending effort at revolution. What more natural on Berlin's part than to desire to get its "agents-disturbers" there? And if they were at that moment widely scattered over the world, the more reason to begin quickly to call them in.

(To be continued).

WHERE LABOUR RULES.

Two leading South African farmers who recently made a long visit to Australia and New Zealand, on their return made a report from which the following extracts are given as showing what "Labour" can do under extraordinarily favourable conditions, and as indicating what a chaos would result in an over-populated industrially complicated country like ours, from full rule by a Labour Party:—

"The total area of the mainland of Australia is 2,974,581 square miles.

"This enormous surface carries a population of five and a-quarter millions, of which 37,789 are blacks and 14,554 are half-castes. . . .

"Of a total population of 5,247,019, the six largest cities harbour 42.03 per cent., or 2,205,326, whilst there are 170 other towns sheltering 1,620,000 souls, which means that of five and a-quarter millions of people three and three-quarter millions, or 74 per cent., are in cities or towns.

"We have now to deal with the greatest obstacle, already lightly touched on to the expansion of the cattle or any industry; a cancer which only the surgeon's knife can remove—we refer to the militant organisation of labour. The ramifications of this bureaucracy are so wide and its aim so utterly selfish that every industry is a victim to its whim, and every humble worker is limited in his hours of work, his scope of occupation, and his wage earning to its caprice. The great towns are its playgrounds, and the country its scorn. At its behest the tropical regions have been denuded of unskilled labour and development has been arrested. The miners of the coal fields have embarked on lengthy holidays, while idle ships have lain in harbour awaiting coal for their bunkers. The contributions to the State revenues from the country have reduced the tramway fares in the cities, and have improved and maintained the pleasure spots of the towns, whilst country improvements go untended, railway extension languishes and the agricultural expansion of the country is fluttering in uncertainty. Leases are cancelled and interference with private property has reached such a pitch in certain States that vested rights are losing their last shadow of security. . . ."

The impression gained by these visitors is justified by the experience of the inhabitants as shown by the following notes from the *Pastoral Review* of Melbourne on the enormities of Labour Legislation:—

"Mr Justice Higgins has resigned the presidentship of the Federal Arbitration Court, because, in effect, recent industrial legislation has plunged the community in a hopeless mess. His Honour used the term 'a Serbonian bog,' and the expression very aptly fits the case. Industry is gradually being overwhelmed by arbitration courts, special tribunals, boards of trade and commissions; its struggles are hopeless, and as long as the present system of industrial arbitration and all its costly adjuncts exists, with its lack of finality, with its endless appeals and its utter incapacity to put an end to strikes, which have now become really the least of the charges imposed upon industry, we can see little hope of the country pulling itself out of the slough of stagnation into which it is relentlessly being thrust. No business knows where it stands, there is no incentive to extend or develop enterprise, there is every reason either to close down altogether and get out or at least to curtail operations to a minimum, consequently industry withers, unemployment increases, wealth production decreases, and so, instead of living in the promised Millennium, we are plunged by our vaunted industrial legislation in a miserable morass, where the conditions are either actual conflict or armed truce and everlasting mutual suspicion. Our only hope is to throw the whole wretched system overboard. We may still have strikes, but we have strikes now, *ad lib.*, and industry will at least not be harassed at every turn by expensive, futile, conflicting, and overlapping courts of tribunals."

"*The only Cure for Unemployment.*—Unemployment increases rapidly, particularly in those caucus-ridden states, New South Wales and Queensland. Surely by now the working man, not the loafer, must begin to see that it is better to receive a moderate wage rather than live on Government doles, which are dragged out of the thrifty by taxation. If he does not begin to see it, it will be vividly brought home to him before long. The basic wages fixed by theoretical judges have killed industry. They have closed most of the mines, and have stopped all progress in the primary industries. The only chance for Labour is to abolish the Basic Wage Act, and the only chance of increased production is lower wages and better work."

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTE.—While inviting correspondence, the Editor takes no responsibility for the opinions expressed.

THE SITUATION IN ULSTER.

To the Editor.

Sir,—The Patriot deserves the gratitude of all Ulstermen for its courageous exposure of the conspiracy against their province. The "Treaty" has merely exchanged rebellion for civil war. Letters from relatives and friends in Ireland, men of various creeds and classes, all have one tale to tell—abhorrence of Sinn Fein savagery and contempt for the Coalition by which they have been abandoned and betrayed. A prominent citizen of Belfast writes:—

"Pursuing its usual plan, the Dope Press is diligently concealing the origin of the trouble here. The public is led to believe that both sides are equally guilty. But is it to be supposed that we would turn our own city into an inferno of anarchy and bloodshed? Can our opponents point to a single outrage committed by Ulstermen in the South? No Loyalist would dream of firing at a soldier or a policeman. The prime responsibility for the murder campaign against the North rests with the Coalition, which is covertly aiding the King's enemies to wage war on his loyal lieges. Crossley tenders, rifles and ammunition passed over to the Republican Army are now being used to attack Ulster. The atrocities are being perpetrated by gunmen armed and organised by the Provisional Government in Dublin, assisted by the Red Revolutionaries of the Transport Union Citizen Army, whose declared intention is to establish a Soviet Republic. If Sinn Fein had not commenced its shocking work Belfast would be one of the quietest and most orderly cities in the kingdom."

The ignorant peasants who have been terrorised or beguiled into this business are deserving of pity rather than blame. They are mere tools in the hands of the enemies of Ireland and of the Empire which her best sons have helped to build up. At the present moment numbers of Catholics are volunteering for service in the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The cruellist Sinn Fein vengeance is reserved for Catholic loyalists—*e.g.*, ex-members of the R.I.C., whose valiant deeds have thrilled the whole civilised world, and who are now marked down for the most diabolical destruction. A veritable pogrom is in preparation for these brave men, whose sole crime is loyalty to their King and country, and the British Government will be accountable to God for their lives if it abandons them to their fate.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Stephen de Leigh.

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Sir,—The British emigration of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries consisted chiefly, not of Puritans, Quakers, Ulster Presbyterians, Scotch Jacobites, and English Cavaliers, but of felons, vagabonds, debtors, and prostitutes. In the years preceding the American Declaration of Independence British and Irish criminals were being transported to the American colonies at the rate of 4,000 a year. When the colonies gained their independence our Government had to find a new dumping ground for our undesirables, and so for the next half-century Botany Bay became a receptacle for our human rubbish. This emigration was, of course, a great benefit to this country, as it conduced to the elimination of the more criminal elements of our population. But it is different nowadays. We are no longer able to unload our undesirables on other countries; not even our unemployables are forced to emigrate, although the former German colonies have room for an unlimited number of them. Instead of British emigration being composed of the scum of our population, it is now drawn from the more enterprising, industrious, and physically fit elements, which we can ill-afford to lose. Even then it is not enthusiastically welcomed, as our colonies, being governed in the interests of the urban manual labourers, rather than of the agricultural and producing elements, there is naturally a great deal of unemployment. For the more a country is governed in the interests of the "workers"—the higher the wages and the fewer the hours—the less work there is likely to be. That portion of our emigration which is assisted by our Government consists, not of undesirables, but of the men who fought for their country, and of the widows and children of the men who died for their country. This employment of ex-soldiers as colonists was a policy followed by ancient Rome, with the result that when the barbarians knocked at the gate the Roman population was composed chiefly of unemployables and dole recipients.

It is of interest to note that the Government department which is engaged in emigrating our ex-soldiers is in charge

of a politician who took the most prominent part in opposing the movement for restricting the immigration of alien criminals, paupers, and anarchists. For Mr. Churchill led the pack of future peers, baronets, judges, and Cabinet Ministers, who defeated the first aliens measure, and tried their hardest to defeat the measure which eventually became law. He was also the Home Secretary who received the praise of the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish World* for the manner in which he had carried out his pledges to his Jewish constituents of North-West Manchester to "strive his utmost" to destroy what he described as the "ridiculous and idiotic" Aliens Act.

But there is now one country which Mr. Churchill appears to think should not be subjected to the evils of unrestricted alien immigration, as, in the House of Commons the other evening, he is reported in the *Daily Telegraph* as saying that the "Jewish immigration (into Palestine) has been most strictly controlled from the point of view of quality. Every effort has been made to secure that those admitted will be likely to make good settlers, and that the country shall not be inundated with Bolshevik riffraff."

Sir Herbert Samuel, who was almost equally prominent in opposing the Aliens Act, and, as Home Secretary, was accused of not properly enforcing it, is reported also to favour the exclusion of undesirables from Palestine, and Lord Northcliffe, whose journals have never displayed any profound concern over the influx of alien criminals, paupers, anarchists, etc., into the country, has declared very strongly that these Ghetto undesirables, or "religious refugees," as his papers used to describe them, should not be allowed to enter the Holy Land. None of these gentlemen have mentioned in what particular part of the world they should be dumped, but perhaps they do not deem it necessary.—Respectfully yours,

JOSEPH BANISTER.

73, Brondesbury Villas, Kilburn, N.W.6.
25th March, 1922.

Sir,—You have been among the forces making for good citizenship and Empire in the sense of international brotherhood, as distinguished from the militant anarchy and bitter class-feeling taught in a certain type of Sunday School.

Possibly you will kindly allow us to make known, through this letter, one of the many efforts to counteract the negative and destructive propaganda by inspiring young people at the most impressionable age with what is noblest in the records of human life.

We shall be grateful for any incidental help from people of leisure who, regarding such work as of national importance, care to write for the prospectus of our Young Citizen Series and other details, addressing their inquiries to E. D. Lacy, Esq., 41, Westmoreland Road, W.2.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HENRY M. ANDREWS.
BETTY BALFOUR.
G. P. GOOCH.
E. DACRE LACY.
ANNIE MATHESON.
MURIEL WALLIS.
(Rev.) H. COSTLEY-WHITE.
(Headmaster Westminster School.)

8, Courtfield Gardens, S.W.5, 31 March, 1922.

Sir,—It must seem to most clear-thinking citizens of Britain an extraordinary thing that no newspapers advocate equitable and just representation in Parliament such as could be secured to every constituency were no three-cornered elections final. The only method by which the defeat of the Socialist or "Labour" party in Britain can be assured at the forthcoming and subsequent General Election is the elimination of three-cornered elections as a final test for a seat in Parliament.

Where three or more candidates stand for a seat, the first election should merely decide which two candidates were to stand for final election, and thus the moderate or non-Socialist vote would not be divided. This common-sense and just system would relieve the country of the Coalition incubus, and enable every party to stand on its own legs and on its own merits, besides securing a certain non-Socialist majority in Parliament for many years to come.

Apart from these advantages, this method would be a great blow at the party machines and their dictation to Parliamentary candidates, and it would give honest independence and patriotism a chance, as against money-corrupted political parties. Doubtless because of these advantages, such a proposal will find no echo in the bulk of our alien-controlled London Press or in the party machines more or less captured by the same invisible hand.—Yours faithfully,

A. PROCTOR.

Blairgowrie (Scotland), 31 March, 1922.

A GLOSSARY OF POLITICAL AND LABOUR TERMS.

No. 9.

As there is a demand for definition of many terms recently introduced in journalism, the following will be continued week by week.

Socialism.—A term used for many differing policies. In essence it means getting rid of Capitalists and Landlords. Socialists differ widely as to how it is to be done, and as to what will follow when it is done. Some propose gradual and constitutional action by taxing capitalists and landlords out of existence; others favour the Russian method of killing them, because Lenin, the greatest living authority, lays down the law that "The Socialist Revolution is unthinkable without civil war." Then there is complete disagreement among Socialists about the policy of the changed world, and whether the land and the capital shall belong to one central Government, the State, acting for all; or whether it shall be divided between trade groups or Guilds; or whether everyone is to help himself to what he can lay hands on.

Some believers in Socialism (of a moderate kind) believe also in patriotism; and these people did their best for the country during the Great War; but most Socialists were either half-hearted, or actual traitors in their conduct, considering themselves as citizens of the world, superior to common patriotism, and taking advantage of their country's peril to forward their own political views.

Socialism—being no hard-and-fast policy—merges into **Syndicalism** and **Anarchism**, as certain views predominate; and **Communism** is but another variety. There is nothing novel, or very modern, about any of the varieties; and no recent methods for their application have been discovered to save them from the disasters which have always resulted, in the past, from attempts to put them into practice. (See **Solidarity of the Proletariat.**)

Social Democratic Federation.—The first Socialist Party in England, established, with its organ "Justice," about 1881.

Socialist Choirs.—Formed to encourage choral music within the Socialist movement, and to take part in Socialist Choral Festivals.

Socialist Sunday Schools.—(See **Proletarian Schools**). There were 60 of these schools in Scotland alone in 1920. Their object is to cultivate class hatred and prepare their students for revolution, while instilling contempt for religion and patriotism.

S.L.P.—Socialist Labour Party.—One of the three Socialist parties. Membership is based on the belief that a class-war is the first essential of reform. It is devoted to the teachings of Karl Marx. Opposed to the war with Germany.

Solidarity of the Proletariat.—A resounding phrase intended to apply to a supposed harmonious working together of all labour, all over the world, in the destruction of the Capitalistic system. As a fact, there is a marked lack of harmony, in personal relations, in aims, and in proposed methods, among the leaders of the dozens of different organisations which are proposing reforms of the world. The solidarity only applies to the common intention of beginning by destruction. An illustration of the value of the term was given in February, 1920, at a meeting in Westminster called by the **National Socialist Party** to hear a lecture on the attitude of the people of Russia to Bolshevism, when half the hall was packed with another school of Socialists, who will hear no word against Bolshevism, and a free fight resulted, with counter-singing of the **Red Flag** and the National Anthem.

Spell-Binder.—A public speaker who holds his audience spell-bound.

Social Committees, or Workers' Industrial and Social Committees (or Soviets).—Organisations set up through the country by the Communists in readiness to take control of affairs directly the revolution starts.

Socialist Commonwealth Empire, one of a dozen descriptive titles—such as **Industrial Republic,** etc.—used by revolutionaries to describe their future "better world," which is to arise after they have destroyed the present **Political State** and present industrial system.

Socialisation.—Full control and ownership of industries by the workers alone, as opposed to **Nationalisation,** or part control by the State.

S.P.G.B.—Socialist Party of Great Britain—who wage war on all who differ, whether Labour or Capital, and are disciples of Marx.

S.S.C.—Social Science Classes.

Soviet.—The Russian word for Council, used in the restricted sense of Workmen's Council.

Statism—A term used sometimes for **Collectivism**; the kind of Socialism which advocates the State ownership of means of industry and of capital.

S.T.E.—Society of Technical Engineers.—A union of technically-trained engineers and experienced executive men not engaged in purely manual labour.

(To be continued.)

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